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THE
FINNISH PARTY IN FINLAND
AND
THEIR PRESENT PROGRAMME
TOGETHER WITH
A SHORT INTRODUCTION.

HELSINGFORS 1907.
THE FINNISH LITERARY SOCIETY'S PRINTING-HOUSE.



THE GIFT OF
Dr. James B. Angell

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THE
FINNISH PARTY IN FINLAND

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THEIR PRESENT PROGRAMME 57

TOGETHER WITH

A SHORT INTRODUCTION.



HELSINGFORS 1907.
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Finland, almost unknown in former times, has latterly attracted a good deal of attention abroad. But in as much as Swedish alone of the two languages spoken in Finland, is widely known, the notices that have appeared in the foreign press have been exclusively derived from Swedish sources. Thus the Continent has remained ignorant of all that the native Finnish press has had to tell of the external and internal situation of the country, of the leading ideas of the different political parties, and of the aims for which they work.

As regards the external situation, it is well-known, that Finland for centuries formed a part of the Swedish kingdom, and that it was afterwards ceded to Russia. It is probably less generally known that the autocrat of Russia, while the war was still continuing, summoned the estates of the country to a legal diet at Borgå in 1809 — in accordance with the constitution common to Sweden and Finland then in force. There the Emperor Alexander I notified by proclamation the religion and constitution of the country and guaranteed to it a fairly extensive autonomy for internal affairs. Of the subsequent development of events and internal situation of the country, foreigners have learnt next to nothing, nor have they found it worth while to obtain any intimate acquaintance of the matter. Latterly however, as before said, circumstances have to a certain extent changed. Now we find various notices about our country in the foreign press and in political brochures, but they are, for the afore-mentioned reasons, one-sided and consequently misleading.

A retrospective glance at the political vicissitudes of Finland is necessary to render the present internal position of the country to a certain degree intelligible.

The Finnish people received Christianity from Sweden and also shared in Sweden's national laws and institutions. But honestly and dearly did they have to pay for those precious gifts. For six hundred years, Finland was Sweden's bulwark against Russia, and the real battle-ground for the wars between those countries. Our people were seldom granted a peace of ten years, and the great Northern War from 1700 to 1721 turned the land — then little cultivated — almost into a desert. Moreover, the country was dismembered at the treaties of 1721 and 1723 when the districts east of the river Kymmene were ceded to Russia. It is self-evident that under such circumstances it could not become prosperous.

We have mentioned „the Finnish people“, the people who spoke Finnish exclusively. What benefit did this people derive from the liberal laws and institutions of Sweden? It may be mentioned at the outset that serfdom has never gained a foothold in Finland. But on the other hand, the history of Finland is full of proofs of the excessive oppression that the people were obliged to suffer from the officials and the nobility. The Swedish language, foreign to the people of Finland, prevailed in all the departments of public life. All instruction was given in that language. Those who spoke Finnish were excluded from all sources of education, unless they could master the foreign language. Those who succeeded in doing so became alien to the people from whom they had sprung, became, as was considered, Swedes, and thus passed into an upper class, superior to the mass of the Finnish population. All administration and judicial proceedings were conducted in Swedish. Before a judge, more or less imperfectly acquainted with the language of the defendant, the latter stood wondering at what his „aristocratic“ legal adviser might be saying to the „aristocratic“ judge. Seldom did he understand what sentence the judge actually passed

upon him, and still less knowledge did he obtain from the Swedish documents which he was obliged to pay for, and by a further payment have translated for him — if he could hit upon a tolerably well-informed and willing interpreter. Diffident proposals were now and then made in the Swedish Diet, to appoint officials in Finland acquainted with the Finnish language; well-meaning promises were given, but were never kept. Such was the situation of the Finnish-speaking people in Finland, far into the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Special parts of the Finnish sea-board are inhabited by a small Swedish-speaking population. The date of their settlement is of no consequence. They have been no hindrance to the development of the Finnish-speaking people. To a very limited extent have they availed themselves of the privileged position they have enjoyed on account of their language. From their ranks very few have pushed their way up through the schools. The real and greatest obstacle to the elevation of the Finnish people has been, and still is, the officials and manufacturers, who came over from Sweden in former times, their descendants, and the Finlanders, who in spite of all difficulties tried in large numbers to gain admittance to the Swedish schools, gave up their language, and declared themselves to be Swedes, and moreover „gentlemen“.

It is by including these Finlanders that the Swedish-speaking population of Finland is now calculated at $\frac{1}{8}$ of the whole population of the country. It is for the descendants of these Finlanders that the Finnish people must maintain Swedish schools in districts where not a single person of true Swedish nationality is to be found. It is these Finlanders who most zealously fight against the natural rights of the Finnish people. For their sake the country's only university and technical college are still obliged to use Swedish as their chief language.

Finland was severed from Sweden by the power of the sword. „What will be the fate of the country“? thinking people uneasily asked themselves during the decades that followed. Upon what foundation shall its defence be

based to insure the future existence of Finland as an autonomy? On the one side it was said: „It is our higher, our western culture, it is the Swedish language, that is to be our stronghold.“ Others again saw how weak, nay how impossible that statement was. The so called western culture was represented almost exclusively by the official class, by a few aristocrats having no root among the people themselves, and receiving no support from them. How slight was the defence which these could hold out to the people was clearly seen in the provinces earlier ceded to Russia, where the educated people after the separation from Sweden became partly germanized, partly russianized, but adopted Swedish as their mother tongue when these provinces were again united to Finland during the 19:th century. The future of Finland therefore could only be built up on an awakened national consciousness. This must be roused in the Finnish-speaking majority; they also must feel themselves members of a common fatherland, they also must be partakers of the western culture. Their language must be developed, and in proportion to its development it must take its natural place in the school, in the administration and in the law-court. Within ten years after the Diet at Borgå, this idea already had its eager advocates in a group of young university teachers in Åbo.

These words frightened the predominant bureaucracy, and it used its power. A. I. Arvidsson, a lecturer at the university of Åbo, who was looked upon as the most dangerous among the proclaimers of the new doctrine, was forced to quit the country, and the censorship put the others to silence. The bureaucracy had prevailed; everything that was Finnish seemed to be dead.

But however long the night, morning comes at last, and ere anyone dreamt of morning, a mighty awakening cry was heard in the middle of „the forties“ from one of the remotest provincial towns of Finland. It came once again from an honorary lecturer at the university, J. W. Snellman, a philosopher of European fame, who could find no other livelihood in

his own country but the head-mastership of a secondary school in Kuopio. He resolved to publish a small weekly newspaper, the „Saima“. — „What though the Finnish nation is dead“, he exclaimed. „One may fall with one's people, but it is beneath a man to die the death of a slave. The people of Finland must be roused, if Finland is to have a future.“

Even when the voice sounded from a cemetery, the bureaucracy had a presentiment of the danger. Brilliant genius, and indomitable will were his, and against these spiritual weapons the bureaucracy now raised its heavy sword. The censorship was made more stringent but it availed nothing. At its wit's end the bureaucracy could think of nothing better, than to kill the little newspaper. Then foreign universities offered positions of honour to the eminent scientist. He hesitated an instant, but soon found it his duty to remain where Providence had placed him, among the despised people one of whom he felt himself to be. They tried to starve him out, to close every means of support to him and his family, and succeeded so far that he was for a time engaged as a clerk in a tobacco-manufactory. But they could not put him to silence. During the worst period of European reaction, after the risings of 1848, he published „Litteraturblad för allmän medborgerlig bildning“, a literary newspaper for popular secondary education, a journal, which did pioneer work in a higher sense, than perhaps is the case with any periodical among more advanced nations.

However desperate the struggle for the Finnish nationality seemed, it had found a solid basis in the collections of old Finnish folk-songs, which Elias Lönnrot had succeeded in bringing to light from the backwoods of Finland, more especially in „Kalevala“ a magnificent national epic, a product of the true Finnish spirit, which has attracted the lively attention of the literary world abroad. Elias Lönnrot's discovery inspired the champions of the Finnish people with new confidence. They had indeed a giant's task to perform. First they had to create a Finnish literary language, flexible

enough for all the needs of civilisation. It was a slow process, but one or two little newspapers, attempting to speak Finnish to an educated public, were published, for example in the capital „Suometar“ (the daughter of Finland). A Finnish literature showed signs of germination. It was little enough, but it was sufficient to arouse all the efforts of those in power to crush it. They went to the extent of promulgating a press-law in 1850 which enacted that no treatises or works save those dealing with religious and economical matters were to be printed in Finnish. But even this death-blow could not put an end to the Finnish national movement. Her young champions went on working enthusiastically at great financial and intellectual cost. In spite of all opposition and prohibition, a Finnish literature began to grow up.

When Alexander II ascended the throne, a period of greater freedom and enlightenment began for the whole empire, and also for the Finnish people. Snellman became professor at the university, and finally member of the government; only for a short time, however, as he proved too inconvenient to the bureaucracy. Nevertheless he succeeded in 1863 in securing an edict that Finnish should be used in the courts of justice and in the government offices and that this reform should be carried out within 20 years.

The bureaucracy however hoped that it would remain a dead letter or at least that the language-reform might be put off to an indefinite future. When the 20 years were gone, no preparations worth speaking of had been made, and it was the Russian governor-general's interference alone which led to the edict of 1863, with certain qualifications, becoming an actuality, and to further steps being taken about 1880 for the use of Finnish side by side with Swedish as the official language.

At the Diet, which, unconvened for half a century, assembled from 1860 onwards every fifth, and later every third year, and which consisted, as formerly in Sweden, of four estates (nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants), the Swedish bureaucracy could rely on the nobility and on the

burghers, while the friends of Finland, the so called Finnish party, had a decided majority among the clergy and the peasants. The result was a deadlock, and on this rock all attempts to replace the language-edict by a definitive parliamentary law, were wrecked. The Swedish party thought that it would be fair and just for the officials to use Swedish or Finnish at their own discretion in their official correspondence, the Finnish party on the other hand set out with the proposition that an official is the servant of the people and saw in Finland's political position as part of the Russian Empire a very special reason for observing the rule, which obtains among all civilized peoples, that an official on duty should employ the language spoken by the people he is appointed to serve.

The language-contest concerned not only the judicial and administrative departments, but also, and especially during the latter half of the 19:th century, the institutives for primary and secondary education. A grammar-school, supported by the state, with Finnish as the language of instruction was opened as early as 1858, but the bureaucracy considered the enterprise as an experiment and one the more likely to fail, in as much as no Finnish textbooks were then in existence. But it succeeded admirably — the necessary textbooks were created, and the pupils of the school competed successfully at the university with those from the Swedish colleges. New openings were thus provided for the Finnish population — a hitherto undreamt of opportunity for its sons to acquire education and consequently influence in the state and in community.

Among the lower classes the land-owning peasantry understood the position sooner than others, and energetically demanded the establishment of Finnish grammar-schools in all parts of the country. But the government now turned a deaf ear to them; the Finns ought at least for the present to be content with the board- and higher grade schools, which meant that those who spoke Swedish, were for generations to keep their privileged position. In this direction however,

all opposition proved useless. Thanks to the generosity of the Finnish public, a large number of Finnish grammar-schools were successfully established and supported by private means, which the state under the pressure of public opinion was afterwards obliged to acknowledge, one after the other.

In as much as the Finnish schools were able to turn out citizens who had received their education in the national tongue, the work of raising the Finnish literature to a higher plane became more energetic and far-reaching. In this direction the creation of a Finnish national theatre, which dates its origin from 1870, has been of no small importance. On the other hand, the only university in the country has in a large measure been a shame and reproach to those struggling for the Finnish nationality. Of course the majority of the students have long used Finnish as their native tongue. The real leaders of the Finnish party also have almost always been found among the teachers of the university. Most of the teachers, however, are descended from, and intimately associated with the Swedish official class, so that they have adopted a hostile attitude towards the demands that the university should be made more truly Finnish.

To gain a teacher's post at the university, it is of course requisite to have a thorough knowledge of Finnish, both for speaking and writing, but in consequence of the autonomy possessed by the council and faculties from olden times, this rule has lost all true meaning. It is a fact, that candidates for the position of lecturer or professor certified to possess the regulated knowledge of Finnish, have after their appointment refused to teach in Finnish on various pretexts, even on the grounds of defective knowledge of the Finnish language. At the only university and at the only polytechnic college in Finland, most lectures are still delivered in Swedish.

As is proved by the foregoing remarks,⁶ the fight over the language in Finland has never been a question of nationalism, in the usual acceptance of the word. It has been essentially a conflict between the nation and its privileged upper class

which has tried to protect its inherited privileged position by maintaining an idiom, unknown to the great bulk of the people, as the principal language for secondary education, for administration, for jurisdiction and for legislation. The battle has been fought on the question as to how the people of Finland could establish their internal independence and carry out their mission as the upholders of culture in the North of Europe.

The divergent opinions of the parties on this question are closely allied to their various conceptions of the necessities of the political situation and of social conditions. No one worked more energetically for the restoration of a constitutional regime than Snellman did during the gloomy days of Nicholas I. But higher than all outward forms, and infinitely higher than the realization of the doctrines of political liberalism did he place the strengthening of the nation's inward and moral power, such power as is shown in the citizen's constant faith in the future of his people and undying determination to use the opportunities of working for his fatherland which are always ready at hand in some form or other, even under the most trying outward conditions. None also worked more energetically than Snellman on the sphere of economics, to put an end to the coercion of the guilds and other checks upon free labour inherited from the restrictive legislation of olden times. But nevertheless he was conscious of the sufferings sooner or later brought upon individuals and whole classes by free competition, if not regulated by up-to-date social legislation. Thus he insisted, even at that early date, upon a social policy, greatly differing from the Manchester system of „laissez faire, laissez passer“, to which the standard-bearers of the Swedish party in Finland had done homage since they had freed themselves from the „mercantile theory“ which dominated our legislation as late as the reign of Alexander II.

Even after the death of Snellman in 1881, his views in politics and economics directed the activity of the Finnish party in all essential matters. As the party desired to be, and really was, a national party, open to anyone willing to

work for the advancement of the Finnish nationality, it counted among its members not only pronounced adherents of liberalism, but also men of more conservative opinions. This was the case both in regard to economic and social questions, and to those of a purely political and ecclesiastical nature. At the same time, since the leading principle was common to all members of the party, its representatives at the Diets were generally able to present a solid front, and it may be noted as an indisputable fact, that no reform of any great importance has been carried out in Finland during the last half century, except by the initiative of the Finnish party, or with its effective support. Especially with regard to raising the economic position of the proletariat and the working classes, it is true that all reforms almost without exception have been undertaken at the suggestion of persons belonging to the Finnish party. The cause of this is to be sought not merely in the traditions inherited from Snellman, but also in the strong impression made upon the members of the party by the new movement in the (economic literature of Germany) and 'by the legislation for social reform inaugurated by Bismarck.' Thus the Finnish party, as early as the Diet of 1888, proposed obligatory insurance against accidents, illness and old age after the German pattern, at a date when the Swedish party almost without exception espoused the doctrines of orthodox political economy. As a result of the opposition of the classes belonging to the Swedish party, this motion was reduced to a very unsatisfactory law for insurance against accidents during work.

The dissensions within the ranks of the Finnish Party were perhaps most apparent on the subject of the relation between church and state, and on the woman-question. The conservative attitude taken up by certain leaders of the party on these questions, together with the determined opposition made by the entire party against the cheap phrases of a cosmopolitan liberalism, gave a conservative tinge to the party, which did not, however, prevent it from working for advanced democratic reforms.)

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the situation in Finland was such, that the Finnish nationality could with certainty count upon a continued development, though but slow and accompanied by an unremitting struggle. As a member of the opposite party had shortly before remarked in jest: „we Swedes retire from one position to the other, but we always maintain the same haughty air.“

Thus, even if there could be no doubt concerning the final result, still the struggle might possibly be continued for a long time, and at times, it cannot be denied, it seemed to concern itself with mere trifles. While the power of the Swedish party was sufficiently great in the Government and the Diet to make any rapid or sweeping reforms impossible, the Finnish party were obliged to concentrate their efforts upon minor fields of conquests, which, seemingly insignificant, were not calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of the majority, or to keep them alive to the real import of the struggle. Such, for instance, was the reform of the suffrage which the Finnish party had already early in the „eighties“ inscribed on their programme. In this, for the reasons just mentioned, they did not insist upon universal suffrage, but were for the present satisfied with an extension and a comparative equalisation of the franchise.

Then came a blow which fell with equal weight on all parties. In 1899 Russia began the policy which was subsequently pursued until the „November days“ of 1905. After the promulgation in February 1899 of the imperial manifesto setting aside the Finnish constitution which had been confirmed by all the emperors of Russia since 1809, and more especially after the introduction in 1901 of the new military ordinance into Finland, the struggle between the parties changed ground. The Finnish party was as anxious as the Swedish for the restoration of law on a constitutional basis, but the constitution of Finland contains no provisions to meet the case of its violation by the sovereign himself. The law of the constitution assumes that the orders and commands of the monarch are always in agreement with it.

And further, the conflict in the question at issue possessed an international character. It was not a matter of maintaining the rights of the Finnish people against the grand-duke of the country; it was a struggle, which concerned the autonomy of Finland, to be fought out between the Finnish people on one side and the Russian Empire on the other. Under such circumstances the citizen cannot discover a sufficient guide to conduct in the written law, but is obliged to decide with his conscience what his duty towards his country requires of him. Unhappily, as it turned out, the opinions of the country were absolutely divided on the subject of these requirements.

The Swedish party demanded a thoroughly systematic passive resistance, i. e. that all public officials and private citizens without exception should refuse to submit to the monarch's unlawful commands. The Finnish party on the other hand held that those concerned ought to consider the consequences of their action in every individual case, and when they found that, as far as human eye could see, a temporary subjection was not to be avoided, they ought to resign themselves to treading the hard road of history while protesting all the time, and insisting upon all rights for the future.

Meanwhile, all those belonging to the Swedish party in the Senate, which is the government for Finnish internal affairs, finding the struggle too great under these circumstances, had resigned. The Swedish party then required that no Finlander should step into their shoes or, in general, accept positions either of greater or less importance, which entailed the necessity of submitting more or less to the will of the monarch. What would have been the consequence, if this had taken place? „The Russians cannot govern the country without our assistance“, said the Swedish party. The Finnish party, on the contrary, believed it had learned quite a different lesson from history and experience. The Russians had governed „old Finland“ as it was called (i. e. the district of Viborg) for a century, and during the great war (of 1713—1721) the whole of Finland. They had succeeded in introducing the Russian language and Russian officials into Poland;

1 they had made the university of Dorpat a Russian university,
; and had introduced Russian as the language for scholastic
and judicial purposes in the Baltic provinces. Russia had
not asked how all this had agreed with the country or the
people. The Russian officials declared that it had succeeded
capitally.

Bobrikoff, the governor-general, Finland's tyrant, had collected quite a little army of Russians among his official clerks, all waiting and willing to accept the well paid Finnish governmental posts, and from this bee-hive one local governor and secretary after another took wing for the Finnish provinces. These Russians studied Finnish diligently, and the Russian members of society in Helsingfors one day surprised the inhabitants of the city with private theatricals in Finnish. Furthermore it must not be forgotten, that the post of governor has always been an easy step to a seat in the senate. Thus the Finnish party had many proofs that the Russians considered themselves perfectly capable of governing the country, if not to the advantage of the people, at least to their own. It therefore required that suitable Finlanders should not refuse the vacant posts, and, above all, that the Senate should remain in Finnish hands. As long as this was the case, a return to legal conditions — that is a deliverance — at the first convenient opportunity was still possible.

And as a matter of fact, guided by this idea, Finns belonging mostly to the Finnish party, undertook the posts in the Senate. But they could not conceal from themselves, that they had to discharge their task under immense difficulties and frequent humiliations.

The passive resistance movement set on foot by the Swedish party did not long retain its passive character. All manner of excesses occurred and were met by acts of violence on the part of the governor-general and by new regulations put in force over the heads of the Senate. Passive resistance served as a pretext for Bobrikoff to demand more fundamental measures of russification. After some disorderly rioting in Helsingfors, arranged by members of the Swedish party,

he really succeeded at last in obtaining an almost unlimited dictatorship, entitling him to send obnoxious persons into exile.

In like manner, urging in his excuse the resistance the orders of the monarch encountered in the courts of appeal, Bobrikoff also succeeded in obtaining the right of unseating even judges without due trial. In such cases also the Swedish party demanded that no Finnish citizen should accept the posts of those dismissed. All administration of justice would thus cease throughout the country. Persons, charged with crimes, would remain in prison while no court would be found to try them, and so on. Bobrikoff desired to use this opportunity to clear the ground for the introduction of the Russian judicial system, and therefore proposed that one of the courts of appeal should be abolished. The senate succeeded in preventing this by inducing Finnish-minded patriots to undertake the vacant posts, in spite of the hatred and abuse to which they exposed themselves. Thus, notwithstanding everything, the administration of justice in the country continued in the main undisturbed.

But bitterly had the men, who thus tried to maintain some legal order in the land, to feel what they had undertaken. The so called „subterranean“ press, with its principal organ, „Free Words“, a newspaper published in Stockholm, collected, as our national poet, Runeberg, says about him who betrays his country, „all the blackness in the grave, and all the torment in life“ to defame the character of the men of the Finnish party. They were called „Suometarians“ (after the leading organ of the party, „Uusi Suometar“), traitors, Bobrikoff's hirelings, russifiers of the country. All the measures of the Senate were misrepresented and opposed. Finally the gospel of hatred was drawn up in dogmatical form, in a so called „citizen's catechism“. And in the columns also of the foreign press, the agents of the Swedish party succeeded in finding space for their calumnies. In this connection may be mentioned certain articles which appeared in the autumn of 1905 in the Danish newspaper „The Danne-

t. brog", the contents of which, as a competent scrutiny indicates,
 is are a tissue of misrepresentations and gross falsehoods.

3 The policy of the Senate and the Finnish party was to gain time. In addition to this, they were working at this stage to procure the convocation of the Diet, the last meeting of which had taken place in the year 1900. The Diet alone could pronounce the final decision, the Diet alone could determine whether the people of Finland were to continue the struggle to the bitter end, or whether any concessions could possibly be made in order to put an end to the conflict. A series of important and unexpected events came to the assistance of the Senate and the Finnish party. Perhaps the reverses in the war with Japan did more than anything else to induce the Russian government to take some notice of the state of mind in Finland; the more so, as the action by which a Finnish youth, at the sacrifice of his own life, took vengeance on the oppressor of his country on June 19th 1904, unmistakably proved, what a ferment the country was in. General Bobrikoff's successor was ordered to try to bring matters to a settlement and for this purpose to make use of the way of escape, which the attitude of the Senate and the Finnish party seemed to offer. It is also probable, that the catastrophe, which ended the life of von Plehve, the powerful Russian minister of the interior and secretary of state for Finland, facilitated the settlement, although it is known that, shortly before his death, Plehve had assured Finnish politicians, that a solution of the dispute might be anticipated, which would be favourable to Finland in accordance with the constitution of the country and mutually binding for the future.

The Senate in consequence succeeded in accomplishing their object in summoning the Diet to meet in December 1904, and further in recalling those Finns who had been exiled by Bobrikoff. In the same way on the proposal of the Senate, the sovereign in november 1904 appointed a mixed commission of Russians and Finlanders who were to lay down strict limits between the special laws for Finland and the general imperial laws, which the manifesto of

3—15 February 1899 had attempted to impose upon the country.

The election of 1904 was attended by a series of defeats for the Finnish party. The sudden change in Russian policy, which the Japanese war had occasioned, caused many among us to believe, that the party had overrated the Russian government's power, and that passive resistance, as preached by the Swedish party, was more to the interests of Finland and to the dignity of the Finnish people. The Swedish party alone, however, could not count upon any great influence among the purely Finnish population. It needed allies, and it got them. Even before the evil years, a special group had been organized within the ranks of the Finnish party, — the so called „Young Finlanders“, — consisting of young men with literary and artistic tastes, and in general supporters of the liberal ideas of the day. These malcontents had long tried in vain to create a definite programme, when the conflict with the Russian government occurred, and they found their right place. They were „constitutional and Finnish-minded“ in contrast with the party which they had left. But the Swedish party was also „constitutional“, so that the „Young Finlanders“ joined that party as a matter of course. And their ranks grew. The soil had been well prepared, thanks to the „subterranean“ press, the „citizen's catechism“ and such like. It sounded so different to preach „manly resistance“ even if it lead to „death with honour“, than to appeal continually — as the „Suometarians“ did — to moderation and rational conduct. For many of the „Finnish-minded“ who believed that the policy of the Finnish party had been totally wrecked, but who could not possibly join the Swedish party straight away, the „Young Finnish“ group offered a welcome haven. The result was that Swedes and „Young Finlanders“ together had a decided majority at the newly assembled Diet.

As all acknowledged, it was the bounden duty of the representatives of the Finnish people to declare courageously before the sovereign, that the system of government of the

preceding years had in countless ways violated the laws of the country and the legal rights of the inhabitants. This was effected by means of a great petition, Finland's „Petition of Right“, in which the imperial Grand-Duke was called upon to revoke all decrees issued after 1899 contrary to the law of the Constitution. The Finnish party also joined in the petition, after having procured a modification in the form of the original draft. There was a fundamental difference, however, between the majority and the minority, as to the line of conduct the Diet ought to adopt. The Finnish party considered that, according to the fundamental law, the estates ought to treat the government bills in the usual fashion. The majority, on the contrary, decided to strike all work until the restoration of law. „As the government had broken the constitutional law, it was therefore not binding upon the Estates“, such was their reasoning. Thus ran the Diet's demands: all or nothing.

The answer of the government was the dissolution of the Diet, without any announcement as to when it would next be summoned. No doubt, the attitude of the authorities in St. Petersburg during the sitting of the Diet had been vacillating, but yet special concessions indicated a desire to get the dispute settled. The post of ministerial secretary of state, which had been temporarily occupied after von Plehwe's death by another Russian, was again filled by a Finn, while a provisional settlement was made, in regard to the burning question of conscription. The administrative conscription ordinance was suspended and the levying of troops discontinued in return for an annual contribution of 10 million marks to be paid by Finland into the Russian treasury. This was done in accordance with an offer, secretly made to Prince Obolensky, the governor-general, by L. Mechelin and his colleagues, the leaders of the majority. This arrangement differed from the proposal which the Senate made in accordance with the opinion of the Finnish party. No doubt according to their proposal Finland would also have had to pay a contribution for the next few years, but the levying of troops would not have been discontinued, and the special difficulty as to the

definite solution of the military question would have been done away with. Since it was evident, that to cease levying troops, as was also done later on, would entail the suppression of the Finnish battalion of guards, the last remains of Finland's national army, the Senate proposed, that the imperial Grand-Duke should secure the consent of the estates to the temporary continuance of these administrative military edicts, but with the express assurance of the monarch, that the final settlement of the question should be made with the co-operation of the estates, in accordance with the constitution. It is significant, that the emperor's Russian advisers preferred Mechelin's offer to this proposition. Rather than recognize the binding power of the fundamental law of Finland frankly and unreservedly, they assisted in the discontinuance of the levies, in order to overcome the immediate difficulties, without considering how such a measure must necessarily injure the authority of the government, by conveying to the masses the idea that it was obliged to yield to the least opposition.

The situation after the dissolution of the Diet in April 1905 threatened to degenerate into complete chaos. The budget was drawn up only to the end of the year, and in St. Petersburg they had no mind to convoke the estates again before that time. Indeed, the Russian authorities were again venturing upon aggressive acts of a serious character. The immediate cause of this was certain deeds of violence committed by the so called „Activists“, or supporters of active opposition in Finland, a group which had broken away somewhat earlier from the passive resistance party and since made common cause with the revolutionaries in Russia. They now showed their existence by a series of assassinations, among which the murder of the procurator Johnsson (who, when raised to the ranks of the nobility, assumed the name of Soisalon-Soinen), carried out when the Diet was still sitting, was most note-worthy and most calamitous.

Deliverance came from the great struggle for liberty in Russia, which resulted in the issue of a constitution for the empire. The people of Finland understood the importance

of the moment. Sinking all party differences, the country rose as one man to proclaim, by means of that great political demonstration, the so called National Strike, their determination to regain the lawful rights of the country. The result was the Imperial Manifesto of the 4:th of november 1905, in which the sovereign either definitely revoked, or, as in the matter of the manifesto of the 3/15 of February 1899, laid aside for legal settlement all unlawful edicts, issued during the Bobrikoff-regime. At the same time the imperial Grand-Duke promised his co-operation in the creation of a new constitution, whereby Finland's antiquated assembly of four estates should be replaced by a modern democratic legislature, founded upon universal suffrage, ministerial responsibility to the Diet should be established, and finally, liberty of the press, and the right of meeting and of associations should be assured to the nation for the future, despite of earlier restrictions. To pass these measures, the old estates were summoned to their last Diet, and began their work as early as December.

After the news from Russia began to foretell the success of the struggle for liberty, but before the great strike in their own country had broken out, the Senate, at the instigation of members of the Finnish party, had resolved to repeat their previous request, that the great petition of the Diet might be graciously sanctioned. But beside this, the Senate had resolved to send in its resignation. The object for which they had placed themselves in the breach, was attained. The Senate had remained a Finnish institution, the legislature was exclusively, and the execution almost entirely in the hands of Finlanders. The same conception of what was due to their country, which had hitherto led the senators to remain at their posts, now made it a patriotic duty for them to resign, as there was every prospect that the internal government of the country would be given into the hands of those, who possessed in a higher degree than the retiring members the confidence of the majority in the Diet, and perhaps also of the whole nation.

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The new Senate consisted of men, belonging exclusively to the Swedish and Young Finnish parties, with the exception of one socialist, who remained however only a short time. At first relations with Russia were comparatively easy. The new governor-general Gerhard, a privy councillor, seemed desirous of loyally assisting in the realization of the pledges given in the November manifesto. An officer of high rank and of Finnish descent was appointed to the post of secretary of state. This gentleman was very nearly allied to the new governmental party. It is, however, indisputable, that in their own country the Senate met with difficulties, which were by no means trifling. The various factions, from which they were drawn, had previously done all in their power openly or secretly to oppose the Home Government of the time, and to undermine its reputation. The new senate had, moreover, come into power through a revolutionary movement which, whatever may be justly said in favour of it, undeniably tended to call forth and strengthen the elements of anarchy already at work. And these elements in the Finnish community were at this period by no means small or unimportant. They had penetrated to the lower classes, which had hitherto been ranked above those of other countries, for circumspection, prudence, and obedience to the law. The connection with the revolutionaries in Russia now began to bear its special fruit. At the present moment, a hundred Finnish workmen are languishing in prison for having taken part in the mutiny at the fortress of Sveaborg in the summer of 1906. Murders, highway robberies, the rifling of cash-tills and banks happened almost every day. The situation was the more serious, as socialistic agitators, with apparent success, were sowing class-hatred and bitterness against the bourgeoisie even among those among the industrial and non-property classes of the country-side, who had hitherto held off from outrage and violence.

The government could think of no other expedient than to increase the police force to an extent unknown before in Finland. Every thinking person, however, could perceive,

that this was not enough. These were circumstances, if ever there were any, under which a conciliating policy was necessary in order to unite all the conservative forces of the community to make one common stand against the threatening dissolution. But to the numerous fanatics of the Government-party, both within and without the Senate, to fight their old enemy was the one question above all others. Accordingly, the „Suometarians“ (The Finnish party) were, if possible, to be expelled from both the upper and lower government offices which they had filled, and thus kept in Finnish hands during all these unhappy years. Generally the officials belonging to the Finnish party voluntarily resigned their offices, in cases where the former office-holder had been illegally removed, and could not gain redress in any other way. But when this was not the case, as, for instance, in the matter of the Åbo court of appeal, or when the demand that public officials should resign their posts was only a means of political persecution, the Finnish party determined not to yield. Then the Senate, in conference with the majority in the Diet, resorted to a measure, without parallel in the annals of Finnish, as well as Swedish-Finnish legislation. By a temporary abnormal and retrospective act, which, moreover, admits of the most arbitrary interpretation, certain categories of the country's administrative and judicial officials were deprived of the protection given them by the fundamental law. It is not necessary to add, that such a policy caused the struggle between the parties to burst out again more violently and bitterly than ever.

Meanwhile, the antiquated Diet of four estates, which had hitherto, under the vicissitudes of fate, represented the Finnish people, was now drawing to the close of its existence. More completely than they had ever dared to suppose, did the Finnish party see the realisation of their hopes for a parliamentary reform.

It was the lethargy and political indifference of the Finnish working-man that had made it possible for the Swedish party for so long to reject all demands for reform, even those of minor importance. Circumstances changed about the year

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1900, when a socialist labour party was formed, which made very vigorous attempts to get at those classes of society which had hitherto stood outside the political arena. At the time of the great national strike, the working-men formed such an important factor, that their demands could no longer be overlooked, and the Swedish party, which had refused some months before to discuss in the Diet the electoral reform bill introduced by the „Suometarian“ Senate, was now obliged to consent to the introduction of universal suffrage. The party tried to save at least a remnant of its former power, by insisting on the adoption of the two-chamber system, but the Finnish party having, already during the days of the strike, accepted the demands of the working-men for a single popular chamber, and the „Young-Finlanders“ having later on, after some hesitation, done the same, Finland acquired at one blow the most democratic house of representatives in Europe, — a single chamber composed of 200 members chosen by a proportional method of voting, to which adults of both sexes, over 24 years of age before the beginning of the year of election, are eligible and entitled to vote without property-qualifications or other restrictions worth mentioning.

As is well-known, the new Election Law was put into practical use for the first time last spring. The result was a great surprise to many.

The socialists took the lion's share, and have in the new Diet no less than 80 seats, or 40 per cent. This sudden rise to power may be explained, partly by the discontent of the working classes with existing social conditions, partly by the spreading of the above mentioned anarchist propaganda, partly, and by no means least important, by the empty promises of land nationalisation, of large pensions at 55 years of age without any contributions from the workmen themselves, and other promises of like nature, with which, during the elections, the leaders and agitators of the party cajoled the public, still so inexperienced in political matters. The future will prove, whether a victory, won by such means, will not be followed by a heavy defeat.

The Swedish party won at the elections the number of seats which they could claim on the ground of their numerical strength. It was hoped that the „Young-Finlanders“, as at the two previous elections, would still be in a majority among the Finnish population, and that the allied parties would thus control the new chamber; but instead of that, the „Young-Finlanders“ suffered a crushing defeat. They obtained only the same number of seats as the Swedish party, and thus the allies possess together scarcely a quarter of the votes of the chamber.

The cause of this also is perfectly evident. The „Young-Finlanders“ had gained ground during a time, when the oppression from the East was such that differences of opinion as to the course that Finland should pursue, were natural and inevitable. But even under the altered circumstances, the party kept to its original platform. Calumniation of the party from which it had broken away, calumniation of the Finnish party as being unconstitutional, a band of office-seekers, law-breakers etc. was the key-note of every Young-Finnish election manifesto. The consequence was, that the more sober and enlightened among the genuine Finnish population had their eyes opened to the humbug, which had blinded them for years, and now spoke out decisively.

What the „Young Finlanders“ thus lost fell to the Finnish party — when the socialists did not share the spoils. During the election-campaign the Finnish party had to fight against all the other parties, who, including the socialists, everywhere aimed their chief attack at the feared and hated „Suometarians“. In spite of this, the party gained about 60 seats at the poll, or fully ten more than the Swedes and the „Young Finlanders“ together. Hence it is incomparably the strongest of the non-socialistic groups, and a government unsupported by the Finnish party is, under the present circumstances, left at the mercy of the socialists.

The Finnish party went to the poll on the programme given below in translation. The programme is not the result only of the decisions of a limited group of leading persons,

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but is drawn up according to the deliberations and resolutions of a number of conferences and party-meetings in all parts of the country, held by members in all classes of society. Running throughout this programme we find the same current of democratic ideas which have always been the motive force in the struggle for the Finnish nationality, but which, of course, appear in accordance with changed conditions more developed and more daring than ever before. The leading idea is, that the people of Finland can only by instituting self-government in earnest in every department, and by resolutely giving up those prejudices, which prevent all classes of the population uniting to work in common for the common good, find a cure for the ills of society, and gain that inner strength, which will alone in the future make secure their position among the nations.

At the parliament, which assembled on the 22:nd of last May, the Finnish party in a number of motions and memorials has further developed and accounted for their demands for reform. For a detailed knowledge of the views and the aims of the party, a study of these documents would be necessary; a foreigner, however, guided by the general programme, will be in a position to decide, whether the representation of the Finnish party as reactionary and ultra conservative as is so often stated by the newspaper intelligence from Finland, is really true to life.

Helsingfors, August 1907.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF FINLAND (SUOMI). AN EXTENSION IN THE POWERS OF THE ELEC- TORAL BODY.

The Finnish Party considers it necessary, that while the first Diet is sitting a bill should be introduced by means of which the position of (Suomi) Finland in the Russian empire should be clearly defined and the internal autonomy of our country granted; and that at the same time a second bill should be introduced embodying a new constitution, which founded on the old constitutional laws would enlarge the powers of the Diet and in particular authorize it to assess custom-dues, to contest the expenditure of ordinary state revenue, and to lay down the principles of the administration of state property.

THE LANGUAGE-PROGRAMME.

1. Finnish as the national tongue shall be the official language of all government offices and officials.

In those parts of the country however, where the mother-tongue of the inhabitants is Swedish, these inhabitants shall have the right of obtaining legal documents in Swedish, not only from government-offices which embrace the whole country, but also from such authorities in whose jurisdiction is found a single Swedish-speaking parish or a Finnish-speaking parish

where a large minority speaks Swedish. Similarly those same people shall also have the right to deliver their documents to the above mentioned offices and officials in their own language.

The foregoing provision should be enacted as one of the fundamental laws.

2. Every government-official in Finland must be able to speak and write the Finnish language thoroughly. Government-officials in the Swedish-speaking parts of the country must also know the Swedish language, and government-offices to the jurisdiction of which such parts of the country belong, shall have a sufficient number of Swedish-speaking officials.

3. The Government must not, except in Swedish-speaking parts of the country, support such schools as do not use the Finnish language.

4. At the university and similar institutions the official teaching must be delivered in the Finnish language.

5. The government shall promote and generously support such efforts as have for their object the development of national culture in Finnish language.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE SCHOOLS.

The educational authorities shall be dependent on Parliament.

The school-staffs shall have more opportunity than at present of having a voice in scholastic matters.

I. SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

1. The basis of instruction in girl-schools shall be reorganized and considerably enlarged so that the school will either lead to the university or be a direct preparation for practical life.



2. The purpose for which Swedish is taught in Finnish schools shall be simply to enable the scholars to understand the Swedish language, the method of instruction being employed with that end in view. The hours thus saved shall be set aside chiefly for a thorough study of some of the great languages of culture (English, German).

In Swedish schools the teaching of Finnish must be more effective than at present.

3. Private schools which have the necessary qualifications for useful and successful work must be adequately supported by the state, irrespective of their situation in town or country.

4. The position of teachers in state-aided private schools shall be made more secure and, if fully qualified, they shall have the right of counting the years they have served in these schools in their favour as regards pension and increase of salary.

5. It shall be considered whether the secondary school could possibly be so organized that the board school would be able to act in every way as a preparatory school for the same.

II. HIGHER-GRADE NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

In view of the fact that the higher-grade schools, as the final stage in really popular instruction, are a particularly important factor in the national development, especially as the new franchise reforms demand a higher degree of civilization from every citizen than ever before, these schools shall be subsidized and developed in order that they may answer this purpose better.

1. The state therefore, besides lending its liberal support to the higher-grade schools themselves, shall also support the scholars.

2. The teachers' position shall be made more secure, and they shall have the right, according to their qualifications, of reckoning the time spent in the higher-grade schools as service for the purpose of a pension and an increase of salary.

III. THE BOARD-SCHOOL.

1. Compulsory education involving general board-school instruction shall be introduced into every town.

2. The same policy shall be gradually realized in country districts, and the Finnish Party considers:

a) that compulsory schooling above mentioned is to be carried out at once, with regard to children of sufficient age to be sent to school (from 9—12 years), whose home is not farther than a certain distance (e. g. 3 km.) from the school;

b) that board-schools shall be immediately established in the educational districts, which shall be formed according to this ordinance, and which happen to be without any school, though the number of the children of 9—12 years of age at a certain distance from the school (e. g. 3 km.) is twenty.

3. The community must contribute to the support of the above-mentioned pupils in order to enable the poorest children also to attend school.

4. The state must aid the parishes in the building of their own school-houses, in most cases with not more than 75 % of the ordinary building expenses.

The parishes and educational-districts shall also be aided in the payment of debts previously contracted in building school-houses.

5. Permanent finishing-schools must be made as universal as possible.

6. As only teachers whose financial condition is secure can devote themselves entirely to the interests of their school, the Government must in the near future, by increasing their contributions arrange the salaries of the teachers so as to be fully sufficient for the ordinary necessities of life.

IV. ELEMENTARY NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

1. Elementary education shall be organized so as to be a suitable foundation for the higher board-school. For

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this purpose the parishes are to be instructed to pay special attention to the organization and upkeep of primary instruction.

2. In reference to the organization of the elementary schools general regulations as to number of schools, length of schooling, time-tables &c. must be fixed and the following points taken into consideration:

a) that as a rule where permanent schools cannot be arranged, instruction shall continue without interruption for at least twelve weeks in the same locality.

b) that these schools must be subject to the careful inspection of the supervising board.

3. To facilitate the carrying out of this scheme the state must:

a) see, that there are a sufficient number of training colleges for elementary teachers;

b) make a large enough grant towards the teachers' salaries and towards a reasonable increase of salary after a certain term of service;

c) give the teachers a suitable pension at their retirement from service.

4. For the organization of elementary education every parish may be allowed, with the consent of the government, either

a) to establish new local elementary schools, either fixed or movable, or

b) to arrange with the Lutheran ecclesiastical authorities, that the regulations in clauses 1—2 shall be followed in the ecclesiastical schools, while reserving to these authorities the right of regulating religious instruction.

D. THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME.

MEASURES FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE LAND- LESS POPULATION.

I. SECURITY OF THE CROFTERS' POSITION.

A special law in relation to crofters is to be drawn up on the following principles:

1. In every parish one or more permanent boards of tenancy are to be established. To these boards those landowners in the parish, who have crofters, and the crofters in the parish themselves, elect an equal number of members and deputies. The ordinary members of the board together choose the chairman of the board. If they cannot agree in this, a person outside both parties must be appointed as chairman.

The salary of the chairman of the board is paid by the state. The salaries of the members of the board are paid by both parties, the sum being equally divided between them.

2. The board has to see that nothing illegal or unjust occurs in any contract between the landowners and the crofters.

Thus every crofters' lease, be it a new one or an old one renewed, must be examined and approved of by the board, before it is legally valid. For this purpose the board, after having inspected the holding, must see that neither the rental stated, nor the leaseholders' other duties, conflict with the law or with equity, as regards either the amount or the discharge of the same. If they do so, the board must correct the contract, where necessary, after which they must declare it to be equally binding on both parties.

Both lessee and landowner have the right of getting the stipulations made by the board examined by, and decided upon, by a board of appeal. The chairman of the board of

appeal must be appointed by the government, he must be a fit person to act as arbitrator and must be skilled in agriculture. The judgment of the board of appeal has at once the force of law.

3. The crofters' lease shall hold good for a certain fixed period of not less than 50 years.

4. If the landowner, at the conclusion of the appointed period does not want to renew the contract for the next 50 years on the terms fixed by the board, he must pay the crofter full compensation for the increased value of the tenement, due to the crofter's work and the capital invested in it. The amount to be paid is assessed by the board.

On the same principle compensation must be paid, if the contract is broken for any other reason.

If the leaseholder lets the tenement fall into decay, he must pay compensation to the owner, on the amount of which the board determines.

5. When the lease expires, the lease-holder may transfer his right of renewing the lease to another person, if the owner do not wish to redeem the tenement on the conditions mentioned in clause 4, provided that the person, to whom the leaseholder transfers his right, is one whom the board considers capable of fulfilling all reasonable demands of the lessor.

6. The amount of the rental ought to be fixed in accordance with the value and other advantages of the land named by the owner, and also in accordance with local conditions and the requirements of justice.

If from causes, independent of the lessor or the leaseholder, a raising or lowering of the rental seems reasonable, such causes for example as the building of a new railway, the foundation of a new factory, the winding up of an existing factory, or the general rise or fall of prices in agricultural products, it shall be the right of either party to demand from the board a re-assessment of the amount of the rental, provided however, that only those facts above mentioned are taken into consideration.

7. The amount of the rent must be stated in money. If by the mutual consent of both parties it is settled to the lease, that a certain amount of the rent is to be paid in labour or in kind, a compensation for this must be handed over to the leaseholder, the amount of which the board decides for a certain period.

The board must also see, that in the contract the leaseholder is not forced to do so many days work for the lessor, that his own tenement suffers in consequence.

8. The leaseholder must have the right of selling and of otherwise making free use of the agricultural products which he receives from his tenement, unless the board makes special provisions as to the sale of hay and other fodder.

9. The leaseholder may during his tenure confer his tenant-rights upon another person, whom the board considers capable of meeting all reasonable claims on the part of the lessor.

If the leaseholder however desires to transfer his rights to another than his near relative, the lessor has the right of redeeming the tenement for a sum the amount of which is settled by the board.

10. Those regulations in the present law of tenancy, which lay down, that a leaseholder loses his tenant-rights, if he commits certain crimes, leads a bad life, or harbours at his homestead such persons as are mentioned in the said law, must be abolished.

The other regulations concerning the loss of tenant-rights must be so altered, that the lessor can only get the contract dissolved by the consent of the board in such cases where any other solution is impossible.

11. If the leaseholder cultivates his tenement in accordance with a former written or verbal agreement, the lessor must renew the agreement at the end of the period of tenancy in conformity with the new law of tenancy, or he must pay the leaseholder full compensation on the principles stipulated above.

The amount of this compensation is determined by the board according to the results of their investigation, having

taken into consideration the advantages which the leaseholder has enjoyed and the amount of rent he has paid, and having freely considered all attendant circumstances.

II. SECURITY OF THE COTTAGERS' POSITION.

A law is to be introduced, securing the cottagers' rights over their tenements, and based on the following principles:

1. The agreement, by which a cottager belonging to the unpropertied class receives a piece of land for dwelling purposes, must be written and must remain valid for a definite period.

2. If a cottager, who has in accordance with the terms of contract agreed upon by his landlord, built houses on the holding, wishes to transfer his lease to another person, the landlord may — if not otherwise is stipulated in the contract — purchase from the tenant these houses for a price, the amount of which is stipulated by the local board of tenancy. If the leaseholder has cleared fresh arable land for himself, the landlord pays for this also according to the assessment of the board.

3. When a lease has expired, the landlord renews the lease with the leaseholder, or if he is dead, with his heirs, if they so desire again for a definite period and for a sum, considered reasonable by the board. If the landlord does not agree to this, he must pay to the leaseholder compensation, to the amount stipulated by the board.

III. THE PROVISION OF LAND FOR THE UN-PROPERTIED CLASSES.

1. In every locality, where such measures are needed, a local habitation board ought to be established for the settlement of questions concerning the provision of land for the unpropertied classes. This board is to be elected by a meeting

of rate-payers or, where such exist, by the rate-payers' deputies. These boards and their work are to be supervised and directed by a central-board.

2. The provision of land for the formation of sufficiently large independent farmsteads for the unpropertied classes should be effectively promoted a) by the direct action of the state b) by the purchase of land through the medium of the local body or of a joint-stock company.

a) The state is to transfer agricultural crown-lands to persons belonging to the landless class, and in addition to purchase large estates split up into convenient lots to be likewise transferred to persons of the said class, who pay for the same by gradual instalments, and at low interest.

On the converted crown-lands, the crown is to do the preliminary draining- and clearing-work, and also to construct necessary roads. Anyone settling on this kind of land should be assisted by an adequate loan to be repaid in instalment.

b) The local authorities, by means of state-granted loans, and if possible by other means also, should purchase estates, which, likewise divided into convenient allotments, are to be transferred to landless persons and to be paid for by gradual instalments.

The local authority should also, by granting loans for long periods to crofters and other people without land, aid in the purchase of such small holdings as broken off from large estates remain in the possession of the former occupier.

c) The crown is also to grant loans to duly established joint-stock companies whose object is to provide land for the members of the company.

3. The cost involved in the division of the land into allotments must be borne wholly or for the most part by the crown.

4. With regard to the holdings which result from the said operations of the crown or parish, and which stand as security for the public loan voted for their purchase and for taxation, a limited form of proprietorship is to be established which, while guaranteeing sufficient liberty of action to the

occupier and his heirs, shall be so qualified as to secure the financial stability of the settlers and to insure the attainment of the results aimed at in the original purchase.

Among such qualifications may be mentioned:

a) Woodlands, granted to the allotments should, as far as possible, be assigned to several allotments in common, so that they can be rationally managed, and enjoyed according to the principles of joint-ownership.

b) The holder of the allotment is always to manage the cultivation in person, and live on the estate.

c) The same person may hold only one of these allotments at a time, except when, in some exceptional case, the board of supply, above mentioned, expressly agree to the combination of two allotments.

d) Within a certain time after the allotment has been transferred to the tenant (for instance if half the instalments towards the loan have not yet been paid off), the allotment may not be transferred to any other person, except by permission of the board of inhabitancy.

5. It would be worth taking into consideration, in what way estates of the crown and glebe-lands could be employed for bettering the condition of the unpropertied population.

II. REVISION OF THE STATUTE RELATING TO HIRED SERVANTS.

The clauses relating to agreements between servants and masters in the Servants' Act should be thoroughly revised, the obsolete provisions therein removed and the regulations touching the obligations of servants and masters drawn up absolutely impartially.

III. READJUSTMENT OF TAXES AND IMPOSITIONS.

1. The present taxation of landed property should be done away with and its place taken by other taxes which treat land like any other source of income.

2. The duty of keeping up the roads, as far as the public highways and the bridges connected with them are concerned, should be taken over by the state, and the burden of maintenance should be so disposed, that all tax-payers both in town and country together with the crown should take their share in meeting the expenses of the construction and upkeep of highways.

3. The posting-service should be made self-supporting by raising the fares.

In so far as this is unsuccessful the state should meet the cost of maintaining the posting service.

4. The other capitation-taxes are likewise to be removed.

IV. PREVENTION OF THE PURCHASE OF ESTATES BY TIMBER-AGENTS.

At the same time as the number of independent farmers is being increased as much as possible by the agency of state and parish, measures should also be taken to prevent any decrease in the existing farmer-class: with this end in view the proper legal provisions, of sufficient severity, should be made to prevent independent holdings from falling into the hands of timber-merchants or similar speculators.

V. CONSIDERATION FOR THE INTERESTS OF AGRICULTURE IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

In the administration of State-affairs more attention than hitherto ought to be paid to the interests of agriculture, especially to those of petty farming. Among other things

the railway-freights and duties transferring agricultural produce should be adapted to the needs of agriculture; public funds should be employed more freely for the improvement of agriculture and kindred industries, and especially for the draining and cultivation of morasses and marshy land.

VI. RE-ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL TEACHING.

1. More care should be taken in the higher section of agricultural instruction to give farmers a theoretical knowledge of those branches of political economy which touch upon agriculture and to provide them also with some practical experience of their profession.

2. Inferior agricultural instruction should be rendered more effective and more equal to the requirements of the petty farmers. To this end an adequate number of so-called winter-classes for yeomen farmers, and shorter courses in the different branches of agriculture, should be arranged. Travelling teachers for the various branches of agriculture should further be paid for by Government grants to the use of the Society of Agriculture.

VII. ENCOURAGING OF CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS.

1. Energetic measures should be taken to enable the agricultural classes to take over, by means of co-operative societies, the disposal of farm-produce and the purchase and, if possible, the manufacture of the necessary implements.

2. To the realisation of the ends mentioned in the foregoing clause, which depends in the first place upon the agricultural classes themselves, the state, on its part, should

a) remove the obstacles that check development in this direction;

b) by adequate subsidies aid instruction in questions touching co-operation, and

c) give loans on reasonable terms to larger co-operative societies for importation of goods.

VIII. REORGANIZATION OF THE STATE'S ISSUE OF LOANS FOR AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES.

The loans which the state is now issuing for the promotion of agriculture, and purposes in connection with it (mortgages on the military chest, loans for individual or communal agriculture, loans for relief-funds; loans for draining morasses etc.) are to be thoroughly investigated, and remodelled so that the chief industry of the country, in particular petty farming, should receive greater benefit than heretofore.

The public funds intended for this issue of loans should be considerably increased.

N. B. In connection with this it may be noticed that there are deficiencies in the land-surveying department. The surveying occupies too much time, thus causes considerable damage to agriculture, and is very expensive to the party concerned. On these grounds the delegates of the Finnish party have been requested to frame a bill on the subject.

The delegates of the party have likewise been advised to consider the question raised at the party-meeting touching the supply of dwellings in some country-places, and the question whether, and in what cases, land-owners should be allowed, at a valuation, to make over their estates to the crown to be used for the provision of land to cottagers and other unpropertied persons in exchange for gradual repayments.

E. THE REMEDY OF MALADMINISTRATION IN OFFICIAL MATTERS.

1. The bureaucratic tendency which has ever since olden times stamped its mark on the views and activity of our public official staff, as well as on the interpretation of the principles of official promotions, is to be altered so that a more correct idea of the position and duties of an official may gain a footing.

2. By reducing the present excessive number of public officials, by imposing conditions of greater severity as to qualifications, capacity and hours of work, by simplifying the system of work, and, lastly, by a general and thorough rearrangement of the salaries and pensions of public officials, which will put a stop to the various unreasonable pecuniary benefits which now fall in such ample measure to our public officials, the civil service will on the one hand be more efficient, and on the other hand less expensive and thus correspond more closely with the economical condition and democratic ideas of the population.

F. REORGANIZATION OF THE JUDICIARY.

The Finnish party considers it essential that the shortcomings now impairing our judicial system should be remedied as soon as possible, by a reorganization of this establishment, and demands, that the Government authorities should without delay take effective steps towards carrying through those reforms already prepared.

N. B. The question of law-suits without fees and the appointment of unimpeachable judges for the poor was referred to the leaders of the party for discussion.

G. REORGANIZATION OF THE SYSTEM OF TAXATION.

Our system of taxation should undergo a thorough re organization, for the purpose of bringing about greater equity in regard to taxation. To this end

1. The existing taxation of landed property and the duty of catering for judges on assize are to be abolished;
2. A graduated income- and property tax should be introduced and so framed as to correspond as far as possible with equitable distribution (incomes below a comparatively high amount to be exempt; incomes derived from vested capital to be more severely taxed; account to be taken of circumstances, such as size of a family, which affect a man's tax-paying capacity; each individual to be responsible for his own declaration of income);
3. The stamp-duty should undergo a complete reform and this should be made the basis of a far more effective taxation of capital and large fortunes in general;
4. The customs should be fundamentally remodelled and those duties which lie heaviest upon articles consumed by the poor classes should be reduced while those upon the luxuries of the wealthier classes should be raised;
5. Local taxation should be reorganized in conformity with what seem to be equitable principles and taking into consideration, what is demanded for the increase of state-raised income-taxes.

THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE.

1. The municipal franchise shall be universal and equal, so that no member of the municipality, man or woman, married or unmarried, of over 21 years of age, may be prohibited from voting on the ground of poverty.

Every voter also shall be eligible for election.

2. The municipal suffrage being thus extended, the management of municipal affairs should by suitable legislation be so adjusted as to guarantee the thorough performance of those affairs and to avoid excessive rates.

To gain this purpose, the following regulations are proposed:

a) In every local district, whether in town or country, a local board shall be established.

b) For the election of members to this local-board, the district shall either be divided into a sufficient number of electoral regions, or the proportional mode of election shall be used.

c) The income on which the municipal rates are levied shall be more carefully fixed by law so as to prevent the raising or lowering of the standard of taxation by the town and parish councils, as is at present permitted, or so as to limit at least this privilege of the councils.

d) The local council board shall have the right of fixing the rates necessary for the wants of the locality, but not higher than the statutory percentage (e. g. $3\frac{1}{2}$ —4 %) of the taxable income of the ratepayers.

When a graduated income-tax is introduced, the above-mentioned percentage shall be higher for larger incomes than for smaller ones.

e) If in any given year it is expected, that the resources thus procured will not cover the expenses of the district, the question of raising the taxes shall be decided in the „reinforced“ local board. This council shall consist of the ordinary members and an equal number of members elected for that particular purpose. In the election of these last members every ratepayer in the district has an equal vote, as has also the wife who is living in the same house with him.

A proposal to raise the taxes for a particular purpose is considered to have been passed only if a two thirds majority of the „reinforced“ local board supports it.

THE LABOUR QUESTION.

I. The existing factory legislation needs thoroughly overhauling and extending, e. g. in regard to female and child labour, night-work and sanitation. Special stress should be laid on the effective state control of industry, on increase in the number of fully qualified inspectors, male and female, and on the necessity of giving the workers the opportunity of taking part in the control of industry through their own representatives.

This control should also partly be made a municipal institution.

As a great many workingmen are suffering from a too long workingday, a change must be brought about in this respect. The Government must as soon as possible arrange an inquiry to find out in what degree the length of the workingday in different lines of work could be limited in a legal way.

II. In the matter of *insurance* for the working classes Finland is still behind the times. Large reforms must at an early date be carried out.

The compulsory *insurance against accidents*, as enacted in the law of 1898, must be extended to those kinds of labour which are not yet included in it, such as employment in the higher forms of agriculture and forestry, in addition to which most of the regulations in this matter — the amount of compensation (the computation of maximum stipends) — should be redrafted in the light of experience.

The compulsory *insurance in cases of illness* should be made as general as possible and should first of all be extended to the factory-men and workers employed by the state and the local authorities.

A universal and compulsory *invalid- and old age insurance* should also be introduced for men and women in the employment of others. The payment of the insurance-premium shall be made by those insured as well as by the employers and the state.

The state should organize and support for this purpose an insurance-agency embracing the whole country and to guarantee the engagements made by it. Other citizens of small means may also have the right of insuring themselves at this agency. This insurance-agency should be organized on the principle, that more favourable terms will be granted to citizens in small circumstances, than to well to do people.

III. Want of work is one of the darkest sides in the economic life of the workers. The community and state must devote their earnest attention to an investigation of its extent and causes. For its mitigation the local authorities in town and country should be obliged by law to set up labour-bureaus in the management of which bureaus employers as well as workers may take part.

When the causes of the scarcity of labour have been sufficiently analysed, the state and local authorities should support the funds organized for the purpose of voluntary insurance, provided these funds fulfill the statutory conditions.

IV. For the settlement of disputes between employers and employed, statutory provision should be made for permanent *arbitration-courts* composed of an equal number of members from both sides, and which courts one party is bound to attend at the demand of the other. The compromises and decisions of these arbitration-courts are in some respects valid (e. g. if in a certain time no appeal is made).

V. In the larger manufacturing centres *workingmen's colleges* should be jointly founded by the government and the local authority, partly under the direction of the workers themselves, where they may without fee receive instruction from fully qualified teachers in matters of general knowledge and especially in social and economical questions and if possible in professional subjects also.

VI. To meet the lack of suitable dwellings in the towns, which presses most hardly upon the workers, the municipalities aided by state-loans at a low rate of interests shall build wholesome dwellings and also support private building-com-

